34: Del Re--53-58 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines-1-3
116, 772 Yami

"Unlike other Formosan tribes on the main island, the Yami have an elaborate and well-organized conception of their cosmos, as may be seen from the two drawings executed by natives for which I am indebted to Dr. Stewart, as well as for the accompanying descriptive notes collected by him directly from his informants. [MLB: see pp. 54-56, cat. 116] The ideas embodied in it have still to be studied critically and in relation to possible connections that may exist between this and similar traditions current among Indonesian tribes. Here it is offered merely [sic] illustrate the Yami conception of the universe.

The Yami cosmos consists of eight or, in some accounts, nine (figs. I & II), superimposed elliptic planes [pages 54-56 contain illustrations] [57] supported by five massive tree trunks on the lowest plane. It is known as the world of the 'anito gods' who are differentiated from 'anito demigods,' 'anito humans,' 'Yami anitos,' disembodied anitos and anito spirits which live in the bodies of snakes, rats, butterflies, etc. In addition to these it also contains 'earth-gods,' men, Yami and animals.

According to the Yami, their universe is the work of the goddess Nunurao. In the Dutch work already referred to however, the creator of human beings called Tamagisangah, lived in the South and made them beautiful or ugly according to whether or not they sacrificed to him. His wife was the goddess Teraychapada (or Takarupada) who lived in the East and loved humanity greatly. When it thunders in the East 'they

say that the Goddess speaks with her husband and scolds him because he does not let it rain. When her husband hears her voice he at once causes rain to fall. This Goddess is mostly worshipped by women. (There is another god) Sariasap who lives in the North and is always angry with mankind. Thus while Tamagisangah makes the men beautiful, he changes them to ugly and pock-marked, for which reason all men daily pray to this god not to do them harm and to the other to ask him to defend them from Sariasap and to punish him for doing them wrong. Besides these they have still other gods whom they invoke, two of whom--one called Tolasulo and the other Tapalisepe--look after their wars, as well as other gods and [58] goddesses to each one of whom they attribute special powers.' (26)

26. VF (Pt. I, p. 12).

The divinities of the first plane (fig. 1) live in a region above the firmament and seem to form a special category of their own. To them alone is entrusted the task of making rain, thunder and lightning. In the drawing just mentioned the first figure on the left is that of the highest god. The central figure represents the anito storm-god who has a son (extreme right) who is often lazy and disobedient. To punish him, his

his father places him in a box which he sends rolling across the heavens with a mighty clatter. This, say the Yami, is the cause of thunder. These gods have no direct relation with the Yami who neither invoke nor make sacrifices to them. Some believe, however, that should the tribe be guilty of some exceptional misdeed, the gods would afflict the island with some terrible natural disaster. Though not directly stated, the flood which wiped out life on Kô-tô-sho mentioned in the legend of Imulud may have been caused by something of this kind. Generally speaking, however, the conduct of the tribe does not concern them."

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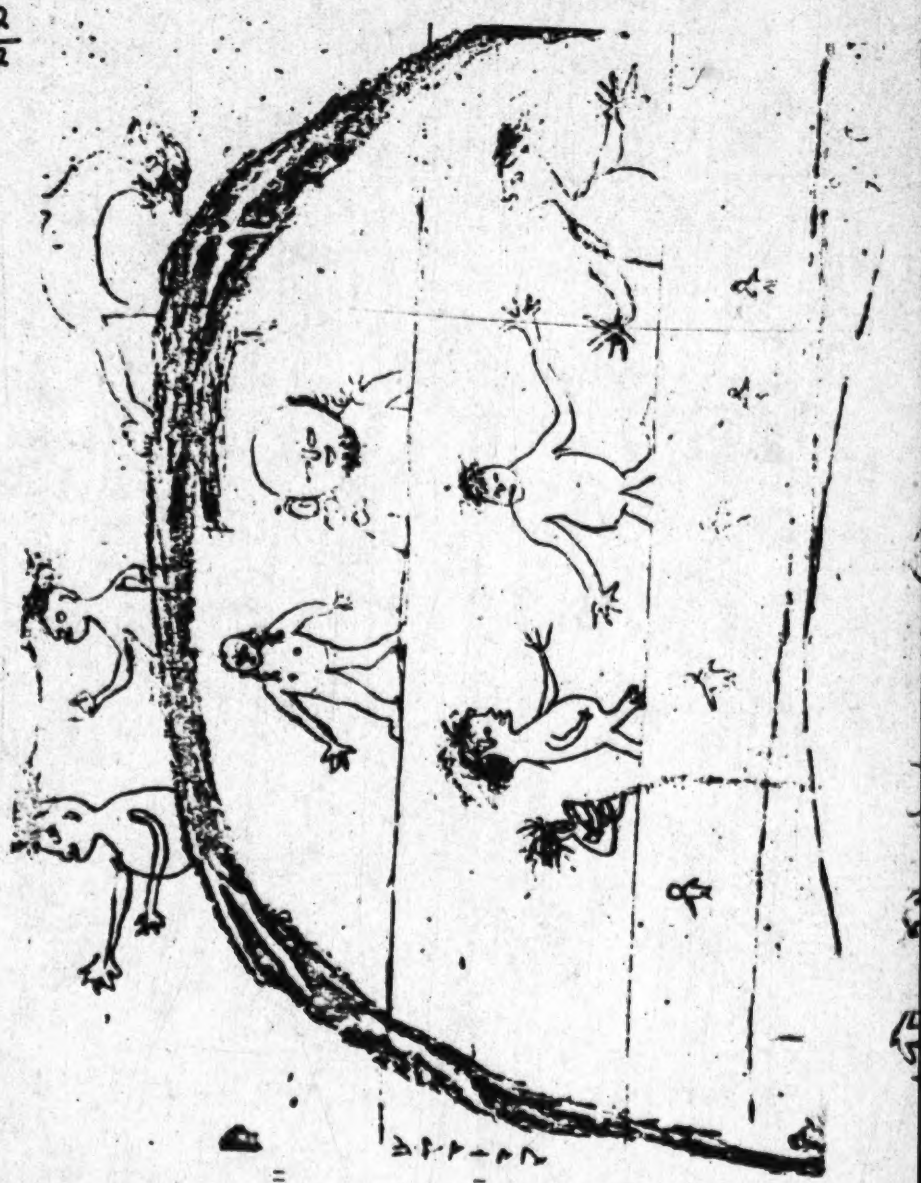

(The yami Cosmos -- See p. 55 for explanation -- analyst]

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Yami

THE YAMI COSMOS FIG. 1 (*Native Drawing*)

I. The Figure on the right is that of the lazy son rolling across the heavens.
II. Tau-ro-to Gods: Shimo-ra-po and Shimo-mi-ma.
III. Anito Gods: Shivairai (C), Shiparitid (R). Note the wild hair and pot-bellies which characterize the Anitos in this and lower planes.
IV. Pi-na-lung-ao goddesses.
V. Yami Plane.
VI. Yami-Anitos.
VII. (Upper part): Anito (L), Entrance to human underworld (C), Humans (C), (R).
(Lower part): Yami couple (R) and subterranean house (C), Humans (L). Note the peculiarly round-faced appearance of the Yami, similar to that of 2nd plane gods.
VIII. Bases of the tree trunks supporting the Yami Cosmos.

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116, 772 Yami

"The anito of the first plane differs from all other anitos in that he was an anito before becoming a god, although no one seems to know when or how long he previously existed as a god. In some respects he may be regarded as the spirit (anito) of the dead god or as a divine spirit. All the gods of this plane, whether living or in the state of anito, have to work, but are endowed with the power of creation by a simple act of will.

The shaded arch that separates the first from the second plane symbolizes rain (figure 1). The circles (in figure II) represent the sun which is found on this (2nd) plane as well as on the 7th, the 5th one having two. This alternation of sunless planes is explained by the fact that since each day is divided into darkness and light, the planes lying between those having suns, are necessarily [60] dark. It may be noted that these planes--except the 4th, 9th and the 7th of human beings living underground--are anito planes. The gods of plane 2, are called Shimo-ra-po (left) and Shio-mi-ma (right) and are, respectively, male and female. They are the most important divinities of the Yami and the only ones on this plane known by name, all the others bearing the generic name of Tau-rô-tô i.e., humans who live in heaven. More numerous than the Yami, it is believed that the tribe learned from them the art of weaving and that of building houses. The first man who issued from a stone built himself a great house divided into several compartments each of which capable of containing... fifty persons. (28) Later, when the

28. Presumably the house at Ivakusidan mentioned in the

Legend of Imulud.

families grew too numerous they built other houses of the same size and design examples of which may still be seen in many parts of Botel-Tobago. Large houses of the same type are also frequent in other savage districts of Formosa 'made of bamboo and with many ornaments, but without ceiling, having four doors, which are placed crosswise opposite each other in the North, East, South and West. Sometimes they have six doors, i.e., two facing East, two West and two North. The houses are erected about four feet above the ground on clay foundations.' (29) In some parts, however, they

29. VF, Pt. I, page 4.

are built on piles or stones. The [61] building of what may have been the first Yami house is thus described in the Legend of Ilalai. (30)'...He cut poles for his house.

30. AYL, page 67.

He cut a broad board, and called many men and returned. He fed the helpers with a large pig and taros, and he served the helpers substantially. The boards were completed, and so a house was built. The standing poles for the house were thirty.

They fastened a beam, and continued to build, and there were many men who helped him to thatch. When they had finished thatching, they took taros. They prepared food, and invited relatives. Those who were invited came. They wore silver helmets and sang in the evening. . . .'

The silver helmets mentioned call vulagnat, are worn on ceremonial occasions. As is well-known communal houses are found elsewhere in Indonesia which serves to confirm the opinion held by some ethnologists that the Yami are not, properly speaking, aborigenes but immigrants from some other part of the Malay Archipelago or further afield. These Tau-rô-tô or Tau-du-to are all good divinities whose main business it is to provide the Yami with the necessaries of life. They are divided into two classes the lower, more numerous than the others, serving as messengers or attendants of the higher gods. The chief of these is known as si torijau or si umina. The in-[62] ferior gods are called si animus or si vidai. They all use silver plates and spoons."

34: Del Re--62 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 753, 772, 173, 582, 776 Yami

"Unnatural death, failure of crops, death of livestock are considered punishments meted out by them. (31) [MLB: i.e., the inferior gods] Like the gods of the upper

31. AYL, p. 80, n.

plane, they are endowed with the power to will the creation of anything. Their life, food and dress are, in all respects, similar to those of the Yami save that their houses are built entirely of gold, and are found in the seven heavenly villages, corresponding to the seven villages of the island, each of which is under the protection of the god of its respective heavenly village. The gods must always reside in their own village and may not take to wife a goddess from another village. This suggests that, in earlier days, intermarriage between the different communities on the island was taboo. At present, however, such a prescription appears no longer to be enforced. During the annual festivals the islanders call upon and make offerings to these gods of yams, taro, millet and other fruits of the earth to ensure a good harvest and a plentiful catch of flying-fish. There are also anitos on this plane, but they are harmless."

34: Del Re--62-64 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 539, 772 Yami

"The direct interest taken by these gods in the welfare of the tribe is illustrated by the following legend:---

Once upon a time there lived on Kô-tô-sho a very handsome youth who was very poor. One of the Tau-[63]rô-tô goddesses being sorry for him, told her niece to descend upon the island and to marry him. The niece at first refused, but later the aunt succeeded in making her take pity on the youth. Having reached the island, she approached the youth and asked him to marry her. The youth, however, refused her offer saying that he was too poor to keep himself much less a family. The girl finally got her way by promising that she would make him rich. After nine years of marriage, during which she bore him two sons, the mother returned to heaven taking with her the youngest child, leaving the husband and the eldest son behind.

A man still lives in one of the villages of Kô-tô-sho who claims to be directly descended from this goddess.

The figures shown in the 3rd plane (fig. I), Shipariud (right) and Shivairai (centre), are the principal gods of this heaven which is also inhabited by many other divinities the names of which are unknown. The latter are 'anito-demigods' whose main function seems to be that of living at the expense of the other inferior beings of the Yami universe. Being unable to make a living by themselves, and unwilling to work, they steal food from the Yami entering for that purpose into the bodies of rats and other rodents. Whenever a rat

34: Del Re--62-64 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines-2
116, 539, 772 Yami

.is killed the anito has to find another abode, which often is the body of a bird or a butterfly. In the course of this transmigration, however, he loses his power to harm. In earlier times the [64] island is supposed to have had no rats which--so the tradition goes --were brought over by a (?) Japanese boat and and [sic] spreading over it ravaged the crops. In view of this, it is easy to understand how it came about that the Yami later added to their universe a plane peopled entirely by a special class of wicked anitos. According to some, these anitos are not naturally evil but only become so when they pass into the body of a rat. It is generally believed that they take pleasure in preventing plants from coming to fruition, or in causing the seed to rot in the earth, or spoiling the crops after they have been harvested."

34: Del Re--64-67 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 539, 772, 842 Yami

"The 4th plane (figure I) is entirely peopled by divinities of female sex called Pi-na-lung-ao, the chief of whom is the goddess Shi-nun-manuri, who exercise a function somewhat akin to that of the classical Moirai. When a child is about to be born the goddess must be consulted to ensure--as far [sic] possible--that an equal number of males and females are born in each generation. Sometimes, however, Shi-nun-manuri forgets the correct number and confusion arises, but this is at once set right in the following generation. At the time of birth the goddesses pour water into a bowl and shake it: if only a small amount of water is spilled the new-born child will have a long life, but if all the water is spilled it will die soon. Length of life depends entirely on the amount of water spilled, nor is it affected by any preceding action of the parents or by what the individual may subsequently do, since once [pages 65 and 66 contain illustrations] [67] determined at birth, nothing can alter man's span of life."

34: Del Re--67-71 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines-1-5
116, 539, 772 Yami

"The 5th plane is inhabited by the Yami. The two islands shown in the drawing (fig. 1) probably represent Formosa and the near-by island of Ka-sho-to. It will be noticed that the artist has been at pains to distinguish the Yami from the anitos (planes 2 & 4) with their wild looks, dishevelled hair and pot-bellies, from the humans (planes 7 & 8) and, conversely, their marked resemblance to the gods of the second plane.

'Yami-anitos' occupy the 6th plane (fig. I). These seem to be the doubles rather than the spirits of the Yami. According to some, each individual may have as many as eight anitos who, after the death of the host body, continue to live in the same place, as disembodied spirits. Such a belief presents an interesting analogy with the ancient Egyptian ideas concerning the ka. There are certain places reputed to be haunted by these anitos which the savages fear to visit at night or even during the daytime. They are furthermore regarded as harbingers of death. Like the anitos on the 3rd plane, they too may enter into the bodies of rats which makes them evil and, in this form, are undistinguishable from those just mentioned and from the 'anito-men' who live on the 8th plane. They may also enter into butterflies, mantises and cocoons. Rats, too, are believed to have several anitos, one of which acts as the animal's vital spirit. Whether in the form of Yami, men, animals or gods, it is clear that anitos [68] have a double function and can exist with or without bodies. It will be noticed that the 3rd, 6th and 8th planes of existence (in the 9 plane scheme) are, in effect, anito counterparts of the

corresponding divine (2nd), Yami (5th) and human (7th) planes immediately above them, the only difference being that the anitos of the 3rd plane are considered evil spirits, while those of the 2nd are gods and harmless.

The World of Men is situated on the 7th plane (fig. I). About it the Yami have little to say. This, in itself, might be adduced as a proof of their long period of isolation from the outer world. It is believed however that, in the remote past, two Yami, led by the gods, visited the land of men, situated underground (plane 7 (à)(b)), and on their return handed down the following legend told Dr. Stewart, by a young native. The story makes an interesting addition to the numerous Celtic legends of what Alfred Nutt called the 'Hollow Hill' type of Happy Otherworld, except for the important fact that the Yami underworld is inhabited by living beings not ghosts.(31)

31. cpr. also the underworld in the Puyuma legend, p. 46.

Once upon a time there was a family of Yami which had several children. For some unknown reason the father and mother treated the elder brother and sister very cruelly, feeding them only on scraps and refuse. One night the elder brother dreamed of a country under [69] the earth where there was food and gold in abundance and where he and his sister might live happily and in plenty. All next day while at work in the

fields he could do nothing but think of his dream wondering how he might find the way to that beautiful land. When he had finished his day's work, he asked his sister to go with him to the place called Gimu-awungo. Having reached the spot he pulled up a clump of balung-bung grass and found that the roots had left a large hole which seemed to lead into the bowels of the earth. Filled with curiosity he wriggled down the hole followed by his sister and found himself in a world similar to that of the Yami except that there was plenty to eat and the people treated them very kindly. After some years they both married and had children, the brother two sons, the sister only one. Meanwhile the peasant who had seen them disappear into the earth and fail to return, ran to tell their parents, but when these reached the spot the hole had closed up.

After many years the brother and sister came back to their native village bringing their children with them, and were received with much joy and surprise by their parents. A great feast was held to celebrate their return to which all the neighbours were invited. When the mother heard of all the wonders of the underground world, she implored them to take her back with them. They refused to do so reminding her how cruelly she [70] had treated them when they were small. The time having come for them to return to the underworld, the mother announced her determination to accompany them. Upon reaching the spot, pretending that they would let her come too, they told their [sic] her to turn her back; at that very moment the earth opened and they slipped

down the hole while the ground closed over them for evermore, leaving their mother weeping with rage over their disappearance.

The subterranean house of these Yami is depicted on the lower right-hand side of the 7th plane (fig. I). The figure on the upper left seems to be that of an anito which should properly belong to the 8th plane where 'anito-humans' live who, in (fig. II), have a plane to themselves, not here marked. These anitos are in every respect the same as those of the 6th plane (Yami-anitos).

The 8th or lowest plane is the foundation upon which the Yami world rests. The drawing (plane 8) shows the supporting tree-trunks and the serpent Kamurai who causes the universe to snake and tremble every time he coils himself around or touches one of them. When he draws in his breath the wind blows, when he exhales it, the ocean is churned up into furious waves, but when he coils and uncoils himself the earth is shaken by an earthquake. The violence of these disturbances depends upon the violence of his movements and are generally dictated by the caprice of the moment. His anger is [71] mostly directed against other countries. The Yami also believe that if someone were to attempt to escape from the island after committing some evil deed, Kamurai would raise a tempest and sink his ship as he did in the case of the American sailors shipwrecked upon Kô-tô-sho whom he considered to be criminals and upon whom he wreaked

his just anger using the Yami merely as the instruments of his vengeance. This plane is also inhabited by many snakes and rats.

The second native drawing of the Yami cosmos (fig. II) substantially preserves in a much simplified form, the arrangement of planes of the one described above. It is of special interest, however, because it introduces a new feature, namely the suns which, as previously noted, appear on alternate planes. Such an explanation of the phenomenon of day and night is not found elsewhere among the Formosan savages nor is it clear whether the planes without suns are those inhabited by anitos."

34: Del Re--71 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan: Aborigines
116, 772, 821 Yami

"The whole conception of a cosmos consisting of a number of superimposed elliptical planes, the upper four of which inhabited each by a different category of god or demigod, not only seems to set the Yami apart from the other savage tribes of the Formosan mainland, but gives rise to many speculations as to whence such ideas may have derived."